I: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

In Shibam, masons earn a dollar a day, and their assistants from half to five-eighths of a dollar. Carpenters also receive a dollar a day.

Mr. Heald writes :—

" The general diet in the hill villages consisted of rice (when procurable), dates, and millet bread, and the dried fish carried up from Mukalla on camels; vegetables were very scarce. During the war, when supplies were cut off from Aden and India, the people suffered very much from the lack of grain, as the country could not supply their normal requirements.

" Coffee was unknown in the hills and its place was taken by the gingerly and carraway seed; tobacco was not so much used by the Beduins as by the Mukalla people, who smoked it in home-made hookahs, but all chewed ground-up tobacco leaves mixed with carbonate of soda and even the ashes from the fire; no doubt a call from nature to supply the lack of lime in their rice diet, as the Betel nut chewing in Ceylon. . . .

" Where labour was employed—which was extremely rare—the hire was generally paid by kind; town labour was usually one rupee per diem, and I heard that by piece-work in the stone cutting a man earned up to two rupees a day; our camp labourer received ten rupees a month and food."

Women in the Hadhramaut.

Well-to-do women live in complete seclusion, never going outside unless heavily veiled. They spend their days in the harem, where they superintend the servants in haphazard fashion, sew their clothes, or drink tea and gossip with their friends. Up to 10 years of age the girls are free to come and go as they please, but then they take to the veil, and usually are married when they are about 13 or 14. The chief amusements of the harem are weddings, visits to the fairs held in honour of some saint, or occasional excursions either by car or on foot to a neighbour's house. Like the rest of the women in the Hadhramaut the rich are nearly all illiterate and have but the vaguest idea of the world outside, though an interest in what is going on beyond their walls is not lacking. But, as one would expect, clothes and jewelry are among their principal distractions.

There are a certain number of women, Malay and Chinese, from Java and Singapore in the country, who apparently live an existence of utter boredom; thanks to them, foreign fashions in dress are popular, but only among the wealthy families. Although a few women from abroad have come into the Hadhramaut, it is very rare to hear of a Hadhrami woman leaving her country, though there are some to be found in Aden, and they occasionally make the journey to Mecca.

The tribeswomen lead a very much harder life than their sisters in the towns, and are of greater economic importance to their country. From an early age they are sent out to guard the flocks,

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Rotation.—Heald states that mixed and overlapping rotations were found in Meifa and Asfal al 'Ain but, from careful enquiries, the following appeared to be the most popular:—Lucerne two years, followed by millet and the fourth year tobacco. If tobacco was not sown, the land was planted with another variety of millet. In some villages where lucerne was not grown, the rotation simply included tobacco and millet with sesame the third year. 242

In the Wadi Maseila the fields are constantly changed. One year a certain part of the wadi bed will be cultivated, stick huts and erections for drawing up the water built, and when the crop is harvested the Beduins move on elsewhere, returning again another season. Thus we frequently passed remains of cultivation, disused mud aqueducts and tumbled-down huts.

Diseases.—Heald states, "Excepting for the caterpillar attacking the young millet and tobacco, the crops were remarkably free from pests and disease; I carefully searched for stem borer in the millet but could find none, and also for the scale in the few citrus trees."

Trees and other vegetation of economic importance.

The *'elb* (*Sidr. Zizyphus Spina-Christi*, L.) has many uses. Apart from its blossoms, which are said to give the good taste to the Du'an honey, its fruit called *dōm* is eaten extensively by the Beduins when dates are lacking. The beams, pillars and doors of Hadhramaut houses are made from the timber, and the supply and carriage of the trunks give much employment to the Beduins. It also supplies good firewood. It is a fodder tree, and the leaves are also used as a substitute for soap. 137 262 313 242 [388]

Sār, a palm tree (*Hyphaene thebaica* (L.) Mart.), from which the Beduins gather the leaves called *sāf* for transport to the towns, where they are made into mats, baskets, country string, etc. A popular drink called *nebidh* is also procured from this tree. 137 314 285 272

The long-thorned *sumr* (*Acacia spirocarpa* Hochst.) is perhaps the commonest tree in the Hadhramaut. It is a popular fodder for camels and is likewise eaten by goats. It supplies good firewood and a substance taken from the roots called *futukh* is used by fishermen for greasing their lines in order to make them strong. Another thorny tree, the *geradh* (*Acacia senegal* Willd.), is also a common fodder. Its leaves are used for tanning skins and it is said that the Beduins make a drink from them which they liken to tea. 137 246 314 312 272

The *musht* tree (*Grewia erythraea* Schweinf.), is used extensively for firewood and camel fodder. The leaves of the *ariata* tree (*Conocarpus erectus* Jacq.), which grows in the Wadi Maseila where it sometimes reaches a height of 50 to 70 feet, are dried for fodder, and the timber probably has its economic uses. I was told in Tarim of a large tree growing in Wadi Maseila the strong wood of which is used by carpenters; this may have been the *ariata*. 137 314 246 372

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM 21

Ziarra, or visiting day. Early in the morning of that day the attendants unfurl the saint's flag, if he has one, and process with it, followed by the people, to the door of the shrine. Here the people dance and hold a fair, while many go in and put their requests to the saint, firing a salute outside the door and paying a present in money or in kind to the head Sheikh. Once inside, they kneel by the tomb and whisper their requests to it, saluting the tomb with a kiss. They then leave and are entertained with a cup of coffee-husk tea at the door or in the outer court.

Such shrines have another value to the community—they are the only form of poor-relief in the land. Poor travellers will always stop at saints' shrines for the night, and they are never refused entertainment. When travelling in the country oneself it is often a good thing, for this reason, to give a present to the local saint rather than to a petty Chief, and I frequently did so. The political effect is good, and one avoids causing the jealousy among petty Chiefs which is so frequently occasioned by the passage of a political officer.

In the Mushreq there is a class of men who are hereditary and appointed judges. They are probably the remnants of the legal system of one or other of the ancient kingdoms, and, by their situation, I should say of Ma'an. The Chief of these is the hereditary judge or Manqad (plural, Manaqid). The derivation of the word is from the root NQD, meaning "to pick out or investigate." He is elected from a certain family. The family itself has great influence in local public affairs, but only its elected head styles himself a Manqad, and he has the title of Manqad Al Manaqid, or "Judge of Judges." Once elected he himself, without consulting anyone, appoints four or five other Manqads. He does not appoint them from his own family, but from outside, and his choice is not limited to any class or tribe. One, recently appointed, was from the Dha'if class, who are not aristocrats and whom I shall presently describe. These men are known as Manqads and perform the duties of a final court of appeal. Their judgments are given according to the widest possible code, which they describe as "Asharia, Al 'Ada and Al Haq," or "The Holy Law, tribal custom and the Right." Once having put his case to a Manqad, no tribesman would either withdraw it or refuse to abide by the Manqad's decision. To do so would be to forfeit his tribal honour by committing a great shame. Consequently their judgments in disputes are only sought when all other courts have failed.

When a Chief Manqad dies and a new one is elected by the family, the appointments of all other Manqads is suspended until they are confirmed by the new Chief Manqad.

Manqads dress as poor men. They do not carry arms, and behave with great humility. They are treated by the tribesmen and the Chiefs with great respect. There is little doubt as to which part of their code they prefer: it is Al 'Ada, or tribal custom, and they have a fund of ancient folklore which should not be neglected by the anthropologists. They will do everything they can to maintain custom among the tribes, even when to do so is not to their own personal advantage. Recently one of them discovered that a guest of his, whom he had just entertained for a few days in his house, had previously committed a flagrant breach of

576 but it is a hard and fast rule that no news shall be given. The sheikh and ten men may have been killed in a blood feud the day before, but the answer to the question : ' Any news ? '—which is invariably asked—is always given in the formula —' There is no news, and nothing has been ' started, and nothing has been destroyed, and ' no one has said anything to anybody.'

This flat denial of news ends the ceremony. The visitors, if they are staying, hand over their rifles to their hosts, and are led by the left hand into the village, where they drink the bitter infusion of coffee-husk, flavoured with ginger. Conversation then becomes normal, and news is exchanged.

[272]

576 This greeting ceremony, as performed by the
577 Aulaqi tribesmen, with its long and rather

p. 89 (D)
[text continued on p. 90(A)]

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

a gratuity (dihn, lit. oil, sesame-oil being intended [5]) for the carpenter (naǧǧār), and the architect mu'allim. In Tarīm I dealt with a carpenter called 'Awaḍ Bā Ḥašwān of the Āl Bā Ḥašwān all of whom were carpenters, apart from a few silversmiths. 'Awaḍ knew of eight ancestors who were carpenters. This gratuity (taġrīb) *pourboire* or *douceur* is usually a riyāl or two [6]. One says for instance, Dī ḳahwah lak, 'this is a little present for you', or Bā A'ṭīk ḳahwah yābisah, 'I'm going to give you a little present of money'.

When the house is actually being built, the neighbours bring the ḥaddāmīn who are working on it a copper kettle (dallah [7]) full of coffee, as an ikrām lak, 'a kindness to you', as master of the house. In Tarīm being a neighbour implies unwritten duties rather more obligatory than such kindnesses as obtain between neighbours in Western Europe. Each time the coffee comes the workmen halloo (yiḥawwilūn), and sing formulae of the type quoted supra, and they cease working until they have finished the coffee [8]. The people of the Quarter [9] used to make a big copper ṭuss (derived from the Persian tašt) of ḳahwah, carried in a basket with two handles, for the builders, as a kindness to the owner of the house (ikrām li-ṣāḥib al-bait) at the Day of the Foundation (Nahār al-Sās). In return the master of the house would give them a little money present.

When the doors and windows of the house are completed, the carpenters get a meal (ġadā) or entertainment over and above their salary. At the completion of the building of the house, the mu'allim gets a customary present (luh 'ādah) which is called ḳuṣū'ah, and which is usually about ten riyāls. The term is applied to any such present given to terminate a job of work, or to terminate an engagement.

There is a law (ḳānūn) amongst the carpenters, (and one similar amongst the builders), that if you are tired of your carpenter, or

[5] In Aden bribery is euphemistically known as ḥakk al-salīṭ, ḥakk al-ḳahwah.

[6] For the riyāl or Maria Theresa dollar, see R. ANDREE, *Zur geographischen Verbreitung des Maria-Theresa Thalers, Mitt. der K. K. Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii (1874), p. 267-71.

[7] A small example of the South Arabian dallah, I brought back to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.

[8] Ḥaḍrami coffee is made from the husk, a few berries, ginger and other spices.

[9] See my article in *Le Muséon* cited above.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been monopolised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was considered to be their partisan, an impression which had been still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity, will rapidly increase in the future.

8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

312 271 485 drinks. One must accustom oneself as soon as possible to the fixed habit in this country, of drinking one after the other out of the same cup or bowl. Even among the very rich and the Sultans, the big earthenware drinking cups are passed from guest to guest. One sees the soldiers and slaves drink out of them too. The water in the *siqāyas* is often dirty, with a variety of odours and tastes; it also swarms with larvae and the like, but thirst soon teaches one not to notice them and the aversion diminishes in course of time!

In Zemān eṣ-Ṣeghīr we were able to buy milk, buttermilk (here called *rūb*), lemons, coco-nuts and bananas, but at high prices.

361 311 342 439 In the afternoon we proceeded and in a short time arrived on a plateau, fairly thickly covered with tufts of grass and low shrubs, where two villages, el-Ghēḍa and el-Ghiyāḍa, lie among well-cultivated fields of tobacco, surrounded by a small grove of date-palms. The mayor of el-Ghiyāḍa is related to the family of el-ᶜAṭṭās; we were therefore desirous of calling upon him. The door of his simple, mud, mayoral residence was decorated with particularly fine carving. We were received in a little, dimly-lighted room that served both as a place for storing tobacco and as a reception-room. The mayor had been in Batavia for seven years and had there acquired some wealth in the *batik*[1] trade, which a son is now continuing. As soon as I was informed of this, I proposed to converse in Malay instead of in Arabic. Our host eagerly agreed and we were soon deep in reminiscences of Java. Meantime coffee was [272] 271 prepared, consisting for three quarters of ginger and for one quarter of coffee, and a great earthen bowl of cold water passed from mouth to mouth. These porous, unglazed bowls filled with water are placed in the small window openings, and the hot outer air causes the water which exudes through them to evaporate, thus cooling their contents. One finds the same

[1] *Batik* is the name of the specially Javanese art of decorating and dyeing pieces of cloth used as garments. The thus decorated pieces are also called *batik*.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

On the way back through the oasis we pass by a hamlet, called esh-Sherdj, where we ask for water at a poor cottage. The familiar earthenware cooling-bowl is handed round, but, at the same time, we are so pressingly invited to stay for a cup of coffee that we all sit down together in a circle in the simple room, to watch the host at the solemn business of roasting a few coffee-beans, pounding root-ginger, and then bringing the concoction to the boil in a brass kettle with a long spout, on a fire fed with some sprigs of dried weeds. It is grillingly hot out of doors and equally so indoors, but here we are protected against the fierce light. Our eyes gradually accustom themselves to the twilight in the brown, mud-walled room, where dark men sit quietly along the wall and where, from time to time, a naked, chubby child disturbs the subdued conversation. Our help is asked for a comrade who, a few days ago, was shot in the leg and whose wound has now festered. Warfare amongst the tribes continues thus right up to the stronghold of the el-ʿAṭṭās Sayyids.

4. HOME LIFE IN A ḤADRAMĪ TOWN.

In the afternoon I had the opportunity of a long talk with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās, the energetic eldest son and, with his father's brother, the leader of the el-ʿAṭṭās family in Ḥurēḍa. In his boyhood he and his father did not get on well together and for this reason, quite early in life, he tried to make his own way in the world. He studied at the Muslim University of ʿAligarh, living in poor circumstances and supporting himself by manual labour. When Imām Yaḥyā of the Yemen, with the co-operation of the German firm of Junkers, started an air-service in his country, Sayyid Ḥasan, at his own request, was taken into his service. Under German leadership he learned still better how to go the right way about things and to take risks. When the Junkers' experiment came to grief, Sayyid Ḥasan returned from Ṣanʿāʾ to Ḥurēḍa by way of the dangerous overland route.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

with amusement while his younger guests relate how, every year, he marries the prettiest girl to be found in Ḥurēḍa. We perfume ourselves with incense, the host doing so the most thoroughly of us all. He keeps the smoking censer under the wide folds of his garment. The tea with dishes of a confection of ginger is served. Sindbad, with his crafty face framed in a white beard, the extreme points of which are dyed orange with *ḥinnā*², tells about his travels. The youthful audience feasts upon the witty tales of this enjoyer of life — a vanishing figure of the typical sayyid society of Ḥaḍramaut.

We exchange keepsakes with Sayyid Ḥasan el-ᶜAṭṭās in lasting remembrance of our visit to Ḥurēḍa. The lavish, kind welcome given us and the friendly feeling shown us here have smoothed the way for us through Ḥaḍramaut.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

rugs or mats, or on cushions placed around or under the windows. A very low table, or a special circular mat, is put in the middle of the room for meals. Rough but solidly made coffers and cupboards are much used for clothes, silver, books, or domestic utensils. Lighting is by lamps of a very primitive form, which burn petroleum or, more commonly, sesame oil. The walls carry little or nothing of ornament, though the tribesmen sometimes adorn them with their arms, banners, or hunting equipment. A bathroom is usually found on each floor of a house, all being situated one above the other, the waste water running off by pipes through the wall; the apparatus consisting merely of a vessel from which water is poured over the body.

Wheaten or maize bread, dried dates, eggs, and meat (of sheep or poultry), taken in meagre amounts and usually in some form of soup or stew, form the staple foods; rice is not largely eaten; the people on the coast consume much fish; but only the Bedouin ever eat game. Butter, oil, and honey are much used; also spices, onions, and garlic, and much salad and green vegetables. Fruits, with the exception of the date, are considered as delicacies. Coffee is much drunk in the houses between meals, but there are no public cafés. It is customary for all persons paying visits to bring along with them some coffee-beans wrapped in the turban or plaid (*rādi*); when the party is complete these are collected by the host, and the coffee is prepared in the manner common to all the East. Before drinking, the name of Sheikh 'Ali ibn 'Omar esh-Shadhli, whose tomb is at Mocha, is invoked, he being reputed to have been the first to discover the stimulating properties of the berry.

Very few servants are kept in most houses, even in those of the well-to-do; the housework and cooking are done by the housewife and the daughters, with the aid, in case of stress, of help called in from other branches of the family, friends, or neighbours. Only the very rich have slaves, and these are treated more as members of the household than as property; for this reason slaves rarely desire to be freed. All slaves in the Hadhramaut are Moslems; even if they come from a Christian or pagan country, they are forced to embrace Islam. But marriage between free persons and slaves is extremely rare.

Dancing is regarded in the Hadhramaut as permissible, but never among persons of two sexes, and the Seyyids and townsmen usually abstain from it. The music is made by a primitive form of guitar (*ganbus*), a large oblong drum, and three or four small drums, the players often accompanying their music with